

1: Karsten--105

116, 283, 462

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Spinning and weaving have been mentioned as occupations incumbent solely on the men. The yarn is spun from a sort of cotton wool cultivated by the Jibaros and called uruchi, and since the cotton tree and consequently the cotton wool obtained from it is 'a man', it follows from this peculiar view that the men have both to spin and to weave. This was the explanation I received from the Indians when I asked them the reasons for the division of labour observed by them in this respect."

"The cotton when ready for spinning is packed in a case of leaves shaped like a tamale, open at the lower end. From this the Jivaro spins his cotton thread on a spindle of chonta palm to which is attached a circular bone spindle whorl (pls. 30, a; 31). As a man sits loafing or resting on the edge of his bed he usually keeps his spindle busy so as to keep on hand enough thread for weaving purposes. Looms are of the suspension type erected in a take-down rectangular frame. Shuttles are made of chonta wood (pl. 32). The men weave the women's clothes as well as their own and also make the woven headbands and belts which they use."

"The spinning and weaving machinery of these people is simple yet very efficient; the cloth produced being woven with a fine thread comparable to our sewing cotton, is firm and soft, in fact very similar to our better grade cloths for men's suits, as far as the layman can tell.

For spinning they use a stick (generally hard-wood, for it needs to be heavy) about eighteen inches long by half an inch thick, slit at the end to a depth of less than an inch, the same end being also cut to a point; at the feet of the spinner lies a basketful of raw cotton. And that is all. The process is to all appearances as simple as the apparatus. Plunging the pointed end of the spinning stick into the cotton, twisting it rapidly at the same time between the fingers of the right hand, the thread is drawn away to a full arm's length, the twisting motion never ceasing; this movement produces the cotton [208] thread. The arm is then drawn in again, the stick still revolving rapidly in the fingers, but this time in the opposite direction; in this way, the thread which has been spun on the outward swing is wound on the blunt end of the stick on the return swing, giving the stick added weight, and leaving the spinner free to repeat the process and add to the ball of finished thread which has been started. Backwards and forwards flies the stick with incredible ease and rapidity, until the ball becomes so heavy that it has to be removed and stored. The women are so adept and strong that they spin even while packing heavy loads on the trail."

26: BrÜning--65-66
116, 415, 283

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

The most common hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun. But frequently we saw cheap single-barrelled hunting rifles. The Indians carry their ammunition, etc. in a [66] hunting-bag (wampatš), which is fashioned like a net out of strings which the Indians themselves had twisted. They twist these strings out of palm fiber between the palm of the hand and the naked thigh. The fiber is called tšambira by the whites and kumáy by the Indians. The hunting-bag is somewhat narrower on top. They wear it over the right shoulder under the left arm on a band which is plaited out of the same strings.

28: Tessman--353 [8]

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

116, 283, 462

The men make the strings out of the fiber of Astrocaryum (chambira). Out of these strings the men knit bags with various techniques, but always with a bent bone-needle (see Plate 60, Fig. 1), the thicker end of which is perforated and threaded with the end of the string. An unfinished bag is shown upper right on Plate 68, a specimen for their knitting is shown on Plate 59, Fig 13. Furbags are shown at the lower right on Plate 68.

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serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

[224] The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring [252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumái* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

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- 462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
 • 283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

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For me it is very easy
 To spin yarn,
 For I am a man-spider.
 I am a man-spider.
 Therefore I am adept.

 My hand is like the hand
 Of a spider.
 Because of this
 I make the spindle hum.

- 386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
 [283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
 [177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
 286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
 294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses
 (*tarači*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

- 291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common
 type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are
 simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held
 together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held
 in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened
 over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton
 belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily
 woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of en-
 during daily wear for about four years.

- 291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
 292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
 177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
 574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
 765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125-150
 796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremit-
 ted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often
 little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebra-
 tions. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced
 onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until
 the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Some-
 times such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is
 consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast
 with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it
 means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
 532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
 the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
 [796] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings
 • [283] during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned.
 The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are inter-
 twined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard,
 transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint.
 Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan
 breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the
 most correctly made examples having three such pendants
 from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept
 as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
 worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
 forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
 traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.⁴

[353] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro
 [301] point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
 [535] by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire pres-
 [439] tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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